

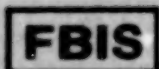
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4 February 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1760



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ACADEMY COMMANDANT URGES MILITARY CAREERS FOR YOUTH

Prague ZAPISNIK in Czech No 24, 1979 pp 2-3

[Interview with Major general Jiri Reindl, PhD, CSc, commanding officer of the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava, by Jiri Danicek, reporter for ZAPISNIK: "It Was Hard on the People, but they Have also Learned a Lot"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General, it has been 10 years now since the creation of the Military Political Faculty of the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Bratislava, the capital of the SSR. It became the foundation for the creation of the independent VPA KG (Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy). How did your school start?

[Answer] Yes, classes started on 3 November 1969 at the Military Political Faculty. The beginnings of the school were very complicated and difficult. However, the consolidation process organized at that time by the CPCZ in all areas of the social and state system had a positive and direct influence on the formation of the Military Political Faculty. It was necessary to deal with a whole series of material, technical, personnel, social, and other problems. The present solid foundations of the school are the result of the knowledge, experience, and work of hundreds of people. It was hard on the people, but they have also learned a lot. And I think that they have learned precisely and mainly from the difficulties they had to deal with.

But life does not stop at our school, either. The academy is facing new tasks today, which are not less complicated...

[Question] The VPA KG is the only advanced military political school. That determines its mission within the framework of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army], and also in our entire society. What are its main tasks?

[Answer] The basic task of our school is to train Leninist type political workers not only for the CSLA, but also for certain components of the Ministry of Interior. Our work is based entirely on the idea that in the school we are training organizers and propagandists for the implementation

of political tasks of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in a developed socialist society. Indeed, our graduates will implement the tasks under the specific conditions existing in the armed forces of our republic within the uniform defense system of the socialist society. They will work during a period of dynamic development of the scientific-technical revolution reflected in hardware, technology, and methods of warfare.

Another equally important task is scientific research work of the academy. We are preparing good-quality foundations for decision-making of the central organs. In addition, our school is sharing in the political-educational and party-political work done in the armed forces, particularly in the form of publications designed to help the political organs.

[Question] How is the school organized?

[Answer] On the basis of a resolution passed by the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and orders issued subsequently by the President of the Republic in connection with further improvements of military schools, two faculties have been established at our school as of the current school year: the Military-Political Faculty of Advanced Training, and the Military-Political Faculty of Postgraduate Training. In the first one, the students take 4 years of study of military and political science at the college level. The graduates acquire in practice basic college education.

The other faculty offers 3 years of study. It is designed for graduates of colleges, particularly military-political advanced schools. Naturally, graduates of other advanced schools, who are trained for higher functions, are not excluded for admission. During postgraduate studies, the students will take courses in two fields--military-political and military-pedagogical.

In addition, we are organizing in the academy a series of short-term specialized courses for retraining and further advancement of the students. The academy conducts rigorous examinations, trains scientific candidates in the area of social sciences for the entire CSLA. We also conduct habilitation examinations in this area.

[Question] Comrade Major General, could you acquaint our readers with the content of the studies at the Military-Political Faculty of Advanced Training?

[Answer] The study at that faculty is guided by the curriculum approved by the commanding officer of the HPS [Main Political Administration] of the CSLA. It consists basically of three elements of Marxism-Leninism: Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism. In addition, the faculty gives a comprehensive course of party-political work, in which the student is trained to carry out his function in practice. The subjects of this field of study include teaching of military education and psychology, culture and arts, and military legislation. Another part

of the study consists of a set of historical subjects. These are history of the CPCZ and CSSR, history of the CPSU, history of the international communist and labor movement, and international relations. In this way, the student acquires a comprehensive advanced education.

Subjects dealing with military training are an important part of the study. During the entire period, the student is trained to be able after graduation to direct party-political work and handle military hardware and tactical operations. During his studies, he gets a driver's permit of the C category and is trained in basic driving of a tank and infantry combat vehicle, and learns to fire from them. A stay in a military training area enables him to get better acquainted with practical military life.

The students are also getting acquainted with the history of wars and the glorious tradition of our and Soviet armies. A military historical trip is organized to visit places of combat of our and Soviet units. The study includes courses of the Russian language, one non-Slavic language, and physical training. When the faculty graduates complete the study, they have a right to take rigorous examinations.

[Question] What provisions are made to educate and train the academy's pedagogical staff?

[Answer] We start on the basis of the idea that the overall qualifications of a political worker and teacher at the VPA KG consists of--in addition to his dedication to the class of manual workers and to the Communist Party--political maturity, class consciousness, the required degree of theoretical knowledge and intelligence, working experience, skills and habits, moral qualities, and personal aptitudes. And also on the basis of the fact that teacher's qualifications at our advanced school are commensurate with his military expertise.

At the present time, we have a good quality pedagogical staff at our school. It has gained considerable experience, and has also good prospects from the viewpoint of age composition. Two-thirds of the teachers in the departments of social sciences are today candidates of sciences. We had only four candidates of sciences in 1972, when the academy started to operate. That is a big step forward. At the same time, every fourth teacher at our school has now been habilitated to the rank of docent, while in 1972 we had [only] one docent at the school. In my opinion, this is a good foundation for educational-cultural and scientific-research activities of our school.

[Question] And now a few words for those who would like to study at the VPA KG...

[Answer] As to the members of the armed forces--professional soldiers--this concerns particularly their postgraduate studies. All those interested in the study can get the information in political departments.

We are introducing as of August of next year a new form of study at the Military-Political Faculty of Advanced Training. In the system of preparation of the cadres of the political apparatus, members of the Union of Socialist Youth, who have satisfied the conditions for admission to the CPCZ during their studies, can also be admitted to the 4-year basic study in addition to CPCZ members and candidates, who are admitted on the basis of an exacting selection from the ranks of graduates of secondary schools.

We have also received a whole series of enquiries at the academy in which young boys are asking whether this eligibility applies only to graduates of secondary schools of the gymnasium type, or whether a graduate of an industrial school or some other type of secondary school can also apply. That is why I am deliberately emphasizing that the new form of study concerns graduates of civilian secondary schools. We assume that those who apply for admission to the school will include those boys who have passed the "maturita" examination as a result of additional study while employed as manual workers. These boys in particular should enter the political apparatus of our armed forces, so that they can reinforce the nucleus of manual workers.

The conditions of admission are very advantageous for the students. These boys are called for military service in reserves, which they complete in the first 5 months of study. It means that they would enter the school on 1 August 1980 and by 31 December 1980 would complete active military service as reservists. While they are on active duty as reservists, they receive pay and material benefits as soldiers on active duty. When they complete active service as reservists, they enter military service as professional soldiers and receive the rank of sergeant. They receive a service income, which includes the salary of a sergeant and a functional salary. In the course of study, the student is promoted according to the existing regulations, and after graduation he receives the rank of lieutenant.

Civilian organizations of the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth] could help us effectively in this area of our work by sending their best members to study at our school. Further information will be provided by okres military administrations, and interested persons can get the information by writing to our address: VPA KG, ul. Kutuzovova, Bratislava. We will be glad to send the information to all.

However, in spite of this novelty the system continues to be preserved, under which professional workers--political workers from the armed forces--are admitted for a 4-year study at the Military-Political Faculty of Advanced Training. They study according to special teaching programs, and they are taken care of according to the appropriate regulations as professional soldiers during their study.

[Question] What are the future prospects for the school's graduates?

[Answer] First of all, demanding but meritorious work awaits them in handling tasks in the armed forces. Our graduates are working today holding functions on regimental staffs, in associations, leagues, and central organs. Some graduates who have completed the school some years ago, are today commanding officers of political departments of leagues, brigades. They are deputy commanders of political affairs units. Many of them are teachers at military advanced schools as well as in our school, and are also journalists. A number of former graduates are candidates of sciences.

In view of the reform of the political apparatus, which is taking place at present in the armed forces--the generation of political workers who started their activities immediately after February 1948 are leaving--prospects for our graduates are considerable. It is true that at the Military-Political Faculty of Advanced Training we are preparing students for functions in companies and battalions, but many graduates advance fast beyond that zenith and assume higher functions.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

5668

CSO: 2400

TRIBUNA DEFINES CONCEPT OF 'OPPORTUNISM', 'HEGEMONISM'

Opportunism Discussed

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 50, 12 Dec 79 p 9

[Article by a.l.: in column "How and Why"]

[Text] [Question] Can you more precisely define the content of the concept "opportunism" in the international working class movement?

[Answer] Two directions, two opposing ideological, political lines are struggling with each other in the international working class movement. The revolutionary direction stems from Marxist-Leninist theory and is developing its activity on the basis of scientific teaching concerning the evolution of society. In the current historical epoch this direction is being implemented above all by those communist and working-class parties which are consistently guided by Marxist-Leninist teachings. The other direction is opportunistic, and, above all, those political parties belong to it in which rightist and leftist revisionist deviations appear. In the capitalist countries rightist social democracy is one of the main bearers of opportunism. It has many years of experience in this opportunistic activity.

Revolutionary forces, represented above all by the Russian Bolsheviks, had, to be sure, come into conflict, already at the time of the second international, with the opportunism of a number of the social democratic parties of the second international. While the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, consistently battled against imperialism, the majority of the social democratic parties of the second international changed to a bourgeois nationalist position. These parties have forsaken Marxism and have acted, over time, more and more openly as the ally of capitalism against the proletariat.

Opportunism in the working class movement is a policy of the subordination of proletarian interests to those of the bourgeoisie, a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, a departure from the battle for a socialist revolution, for socialism and communism. It is a policy of the exchange of proletarian and socialist internationalism for a policy of bourgeois nationalism. Opportunism is, as V.I. Lenin wrote, the sacrifice of the interests of the masses

to the transient interests of an insignificant minority of workers, or in other words, an alliance of this part of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat. The concept of opportunism is wider in extent than the concept of revisionism. If every revisionism leads ultimately to opportunism, then not every opportunism entails a revision of Marxism-Leninism.

There have always existed directions and groups within the working class movement which have adopted an opportunist position. However, insofar as they have not come into direct relation to Marxism-Leninism they have not had to be necessarily revisionist.

It is possible to specify a rightist and a leftist opportunism. Rightist provides the space for a direct bourgeois influence on the working class, it is an attempt to eliminate the class struggle by means of slight reforms. Leftist opportunism is, however, leftist only in its verbal, pseudo-revolutionary wrapper. It is a varied conglomeration of views and political precepts unfriendly to Marxism-Leninism. It is an ultrarevolutionary phraseology and demagoguery which is unfriendly to the true class struggle. As V.I. Lenin wrote, it is impossible to explain opportunism just as revisionism, solely as the mistakes of individuals and groups, or as the influence of national or other traditions within the working class movement. It has its own social, economic and gnosiological causes. Therefore this petty bourgeois world view seeps into the working class and it is necessary to wage a systematic struggle against it.

Hegemonism Discussed

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 51, 19 Dec 79 p 9

[Article by a.k.: "How and Why"]

[Text] What is "global hegemonism" and who is its main bearer today? I hold the view that every hegemonism will change into a global form, because its fundamental characteristic is expansion.

Hegemonism is founded on an erroneous, self-interested conviction of the ruling circles of one or another country concerning its exceptional character and the claim, and even alleged right, which stems from this to rule other countries and achieve prosperity at the expense of these countries. It is proportional to the power and potentialities of its bearers. Hitler began with Austria, then set upon Czechoslovakia, then the "chosen" German people were to rule all of Europe and fascist hegemonism proclaimed already before this, "Today Europe belongs to us, tomorrow the whole world."

The policy of Maoist China has, as a rule, been connected with the concept of hegemonism in recent years. It is a policy characterized by territorial claims against practically all neighboring countries, accompanied by the open proclamation of the inevitability of wars and stemming from a division of the world into poor and rich peoples, to punish neighboring states for a policy which does not correspond to the images and needs of Peking. Its

warning symbol has become the aggression against socialist Vietnam. For the time being Peking does not have the resources to be able to enforce these hegemonist claims to a greater extent. Even its "ideological" basis is of a global, all encompassing character. It stems, to be sure, from the concept of "China as the roof of the world."

The greatest extent, truly a global scale has, however, been reached by the hegemonism of the ruling circles of the USA, which take upon themselves the claim to the leadership of the whole, as they say, free world and to "responsibility" for the whole planet. They assume a pose as defenders and messiahs of freedom, democracy and happiness for all people. "The peace which we enjoy is a peace of the strong", "The United States bears a great responsibility for the fate of Western Europe, East Asia, the Near East, the peoples of the Persian Gulf and of our own hemisphere!" These are statements of the American president. His chief advisor, Brzezinski, speaks similarly.

If we add to this 3000 American military bases throughout the world, thousands of warships and submarines in all seas and oceans, and not only this: 80 military coups and overthrows organized by the USA and 220 armed incursions against the national sovereignty of other countries, then we have the concrete face and manifestations of the global hegemony of the United States.

A superpower such as the USSR consistently acts against hegemonism. At a session of the United Nations, it has proposed for approval a resolution condemning hegemonism as an attempt to subjugate other peoples, whole regions of the world and as an instrument of aggression and the suppression of peoples.

9276

CSO: 2400

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN STUDY: GDR POLICY ON PARENTAL ROLE IN EDUCATION

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV in German Vol 12, No 12, Dec 79 signed to press
23 Nov 79 pp 1311-1315

[Article by Dr Gisela Helwig, member of DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV editorial staff:
"On the Importance Attributed to Contribution of the Family to Education in
the GDR." A translation of the Mannschatz article in East Berlin NEUE
JUSTIZ, cited in footnote 13, is available in JPRS 70830, 24 March 78, No. 1516
of this series, pp 63-72]

[Text] Parents are both entitled and obligated to educate their children.
In both German states this general principle has constitutional status
and is spelled out in the respective family law. As in the FRG, in the
GDR, too, both spouses exercise the parental right. Under the heading
"parental education," the 1966 GDR family code [FGB] deals with care of the
person and property of the child as well as its legal representation. In
the FGB parental education is defined as a civic task of the parents,
specifically within the following framework:

"The goal of educating children is to develop them into personalities of
high intellect, morality and physical health, who consciously help in
shaping social development. By fulfilling the educational duties in a
responsible way, by their own example and with a harmonizing attitude
toward their children, parents develop in their children a socialist atti-
tude toward learning and work, a respect for working people, observance
of the rules of socialist living together, solidarity, socialist patriotism
and internationalism."¹

Thus, family education is accorded a solidly defined place in the socialist
system of education. Specifying the goals of education, because of the
identity of interests assumed for the individual and society, does not
function as a restriction on the parental right. It is expected that the
parental house, school and youth organization will pull together in the
development of "socialist personalities." In this connection the FGB states:

"In fulfilling their tasks to educate and in guaranteeing uniform education,
parents should work together in a trusting manner with school, other facil-
ities for education and training, the Ernst Thaelmann Organization of Young
Pioneers and the FDJ, all of which they should support."²

The FGB, the law concerning the uniform socialist system of education and the youth law--passed in its third draft in 1974--are to be taken as an entity from the point of view of their pedagogical objectives. Of course, the list of standards in the FGB, which is aimed directly at character formation, is far more specific in comparison with the other two laws. The reason for this is the fact that the basic function of parental education, which had been negated for a long time in the GDR, was acknowledged in the 1960's and should be directed into the paths desired by means of detailed guidelines. Decisive for this change in attitude might well have been the discovery that without the support of the families youth organization and public education facilities could not achieve or could achieve only part of their prescribed goals in spite of permanent state control. The stress at first was principally on the attitude toward learning and work, the choice of a vocation by young people, and on undesirable influences by parents in these sectors. In authoritative publications there was never a lack of references to the subordinated identity of interests:

"To a great extent the harmony between the personal and social interests in socialism is being realized in the education of the maturing generation. Among other social conditions, there is objectively no basis for oppositions of social education and education in the family."³

At the same time, however, the special characteristics of family education began to be stressed--primarily emotional ties and the effects of example--and this development has become increasingly stronger since the beginning of the 1970's. Reports in the mass media and technical journals, but also especially in new textbooks for pedagogues, sociologists and psychologists, make clear that the educational strengths of the family are accorded greater importance. The transmission of social standards by the family now serves--as stated in the "Dictionary of Psychology" which was published in 1976--as an "essential condition for the development of the child's personality" (p 172). Of course, parental house, school and FDJ are also to continue to provide mutual support in the educational process, yet in this regard the family is given tasks--particularly in the sector of character formation--"which can only be partially or not at all replaced by other educational agencies" (p 172). Even on the highest political level, family education has become a subject which is obviously recognized as important. Thus, in May 1976 SED General Secretary Erich Honecker stated at the Ninth SED Congress:

"The family has a decisive responsibility for educating children. From early childhood on, it exerts a lasting influence on the development of the maturing individual. If the parents educate their children to respect human beings, life, work, to fulfill duties, to love the truth, to be modest, to have mutual respect, to have civic responsibility, then that makes a decisive contribution to awakening and promoting the characteristics of young communists."⁴

Decisive for the importance, which is accorded to family education in the GDR today, might well be more recent studies which have demonstrated a direct relationship between harmonious family conditions and positive

development of children; on the other hand, they have likewise shown the correlation between peculiarities of behavior in young people and disturbed family relations.⁵ Also, modifying day nurseries, which in the GDR up to the beginning of the 1960's were praised as an institution in which children could be consciously furthered much better and earlier than in the family, should be included in this relationship. It has only recently been publicly acknowledged in the GDR that small children, above all else, need safety, security and the warmth and shelter of one's home. In 1976 Professor of Medicine U. Kleinpeter stressed the following in the journal *DEINE GESUNDHEIT*:

"In the first years of life the child needs optimal sanitary conditions and special nourishment in keeping with his age. Both are often better assured in the nursery than in the parental house. But the child also needs an extraordinary amount of loving care from birth on. Concern for the child must stem from deep affection, that is, it must be related to the individual child, it must emanate regularly and constantly from a person who keeps on coming back--but that cannot be provided by any social institution of education, but only in the parent's house."⁶

At the time this was being written, extensive modification of the family policy has already taken place in the GDR, which took the view expressed here into account. Thus, in the meantime, the protection of mothers was decisively improved and the possibility of having a claim to a paid baby-year was granted to all women from the second child on. Beyond that, mothers with several children today are given more vacation and the 40-hour work week. Of course, in principle there has been no change in the goal that even mothers of small children work for entire days without interruption, to the extent possible, yet in the meanwhile their family obligations, for which they can generally expect only little support for husbands, have been given better consideration. This is also apparent in a varied appraisal of part-time work which is still undesirable. In the omnibus volume, which appeared at the beginning of this year entitled: "Concerning the Social Position of Women in the GDR," there is this statement:

"Thus, it was established that the need to educate children, especially school children, as well as possible, has become greater importance. This need is an expression of the development of ideas of value which conform to the socialist way of life. In this is reflected the fact that there has been an increase in the importance which today is accorded to educating children into socialist personalities. Many families obviously think that they can conform to these demands only if the wife works short hours. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of mothers prove every day that such is definitely possible, even if they work full time."⁷

Continuous cooperation with the school is an essential prerequisite for optimal education in the family. A system of "pedagogical propaganda" which was established at the beginning of the 1950's is to provide, through the vehicle of individual lectures, parents' seminars, events for training parents' representatives and appropriate publications, the basis for this cooperation. Thus, the monthly journal *ELTERNHAUS UND SCHULE* has been in

existence since 1952, which, in addition to current school-policy and pedagogical questions, also addresses special problems of education at different ages. A series, likewise entitled ELTERNHAUS UND SCHULE, has been appearing since 1955; in it the latest findings of psychology and pedagogy are taken up. Starting in 1966 there was also the "Small Pedagogical Library for Parents" with four titles to date: "The Small Child," "The Preschool Child," "The School Child From Six to Ten," "The Pupil From Ten to Sixteen." The last two volumes mentioned are first and foremost directed at supporting and furthering children in their school development; but, beyond that, they also seek to influence the style of education in general and the ideas of values which are conveyed within the family. Here is a quotation from the volume entitled "The Pupil From Ten to Sixteen":

"When striving for an automobile, a weekend cottage and the accumulation of other personal possessions is the focal point of the family life, then the essential contents of the family must necessarily suffer. It is very tempting then to make one's own family and its standard of living the general measuring stick. A petty bourgeois way of life must have a negative effect on the development of youth. In such a family the individuals who are growing up will, as a rule, consider their moped, their record player or their movie camera to be more important than their accomplishments in school, their activity in the youth organization."⁸

Complaints about a lack of discipline among youths, about loafing in school and at work, about acting like a beatnik in leisure time and rowdy behavior have in recent years been increasingly more in evidence in the GDR. Where one used to assume that such manifestations could be most effectively countered with strict regimentation in school and youth organization. Today we are practically warned of overvaluing collective education. Passive adjustment or misbehavior could be the result, as members of the East Berlin Academy of Sciences stressed at their plenary meeting last year. Sociological studies have shown that one must strongly modify the conviction about the molding influence of the organized collective. In the GDR, too, an "extraordinarily lasting effect" on the character formation of youths is attributed to the parental house. No other social form is in a position to determine personality development as intensively and lastingly as the family of origin.⁹ Thus, for example, the connection between fear of work and private influences is described as follows in the monthly publication STAAT UND RECHT:

"The negative attitude toward work was exemplified off and on for the young person from his childhood in the family, among his relatives and in his circle of friends by the way they lived and it was copied by him. The model, which exerts a dominant influence on the formation of the youth's ideals, is all the more lasting, the tighter its bonds are to him. That also explains, for example, the not infrequently observed condition that young people, who come from families who avoid work or from a similar milieu, develop, in spite of the good atmosphere present in the work collective, negative features in their attitude toward work...."¹⁰

In the first place, the increasing consumption of drugs and alcohol is also attributed to the poor example of the parents; this also applies to rising youth criminality.¹¹ In connection with the evaluation based on 400 forensic psychiatric opinions about youthful offenders, authors Franz Irro and Rudi Roedazus refer expressly to the particular importance of early child development in the parental house:

"It could be determined, for example, that 90 percent of all youths and young adults who had been repeatedly subject to prosecution show impairment in the environment with in part substantial defective character development. In all cases there was a substantial lack of feeling in the foreground.... As the studies showed, the youthful offenders in broken families, for whom an expert opinion had been given, had often experienced quarrels and arguments, fear and rejection. They had to accept situation of tension, which in part lasted for a long time and occurred frequently, and they had to adjust to the fact that the drunk father cursed and beat the mother. At first they obviously suffered when they felt that they were not loved, but rejected. Later they also got used to it or rejected the parents in turn or ignored the. "¹²

Preventing such grave defective developments is not least a matter of state youth aid. It is involved if family conditions are so shattered that orderly education appears no longer possible. East Berlin pedagog Eberhard Mannschatz last year stated that there are about 25,000 such cases every year. But even here, too, the revised attitude toward family education is apparent. Of course, Mannschatz stresses the fact that work with the parents should be the chief task of those aiding youth. Even putting someone into a home must, as a rule, be a temporary measure with the goal of returning the children to their family.¹³

Overall, it can be said that the family in the GDR is viewed more realistically. Its development functions as a "process full of conflict"¹⁴--something which no one wants to let go on its own, but wants to control through purposeful influence.

FOOTNOTES

1. LEGAL GAZETTE Vol 1, No 1, 1966, Article 42, Section 2.
2. Ibid, Section 4.
3. Herta Kuhrig, "On the Development of Socialist Family Relationships in the GDR," EINHEIT, No 9, 1962, p 108.
4. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 May 1976.
5. In this regard compare, for example, the omnibus volume "Concerning the Social Position of Women in the GDR," published by the scientific advisory board, "Women in Socialist Society" from the GDR Academy of Sciences under the direction of Prof Dr Herta Kuhrig and Dr of Science Wulfram Speigner, p 270.

6. "Disrupted Harmony," DEINE GESUNDHEIT, No 5, 1976, p 157.
7. Ibid (note 5), p 119.
8. "The Pupil from Ten to Sixteen. On Education in the Family," edited by Dieter Roland and Werner Hennig, East Berlin, 1977, p 24.
9. Compare IWE-TAGESDIENST, No 127/128, 4/5 July 1978, p 2.
10. Gerhard Feix and Gerhard Paersch, "Overcoming Distrupted Relationships to Work in the Family, School and During Leisure," STAAT UND RECHT, No 21, 1972, p 232.
11. Compare the article in this issue, p 1230 ff.
12. Franz Irro and Rudi Roedszus, "Preventing Criminality in Youth Requires Consistent Combatting of the Early Form of Defective Developments and Behavior Disorders in Children and Youth," STAAT UND RECHT, No 1, 1972, p 69.
13. Compare Eberhard Mannschatz, "Tasks of Youth Aid Organs in the Area of Educational Assistance," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 2, 1978, p 53 ff.
14. "Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Sociology," 2nd expanded edition, East Berlin, 1977, p 179.

12124

CSO: 2300

GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON ACCESS TO MEDIA BY CHURCH

Bonn DIE WELT in German 24 Nov 79 p 5

[Interview with Aleksander Merker, deputy director in the Office for Religious Affairs, by Elisabeth Ruge: "Warsaw Puts Off the Petitioners of the Church--Catholics Demand Access to Television--Allotment of Paper for Religious Journals Insufficient"]

[Text] Warsaw. Signatures are being collected in front of churches in Poland for a petition demanding access to the media. At the same time the Polish state leadership is being confronted with a memoir in which 50 personages from academic life, the arts and public life, taking up almost 100 pages, express their opinion about the "state of the nation."⁶

Meanwhile three new underground parties have been founded.

There are Catholics behind all these actions. While the church approves of these actions, it does not support them, in order not to arouse the suspicion of identifying with the political aims of opposition groups.

So far the state leadership has remained silent about this. For the first time the Office for Religious Affairs has now been authorized to comment, to DIE WELT, on these questions. Aleksander Merker is deputy director in the Office for Religious Affairs. He was interviewed by a member of our staff.

WELT: It is being said that 700,000 faithful have already put their names under a petition calling for access to the media. The faithful demand not only the broadcasting of mass and religious services but regular broadcasts. What is your position on this?

Merker: The so-called collection of signatures is not a church action. It was neither organized nor approved by the episcopate. There are people

behind it who for most of their lives have never had anything in common with the Catholic Church. And as for the question itself: our radio and our television are neither antireligious nor religious. There are no broadcasts of religious programs, but there is no atheistic propaganda either. We are not dogmatists in these questions.

WELT: The church has long pressed for access to the media. When Cardinal Wyszynski returns from Rome, will there be a talk between him and Minister Kakol?

Merker: Yes, the church has long pressed for access to the media--for broader access to the press and to radio and television. We know this demand of the church from pastoral letters and from sermons. But so far there has been no official application by the episcopate to the government, and I therefore do not consider a talk about this a possibility.

WELT: Will there be an increase in the allotment of paper to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, the Catholic weekly, and also for the printing of papal addresses.

Merker: There is no doubt but that allotments of paper to the Catholic press--both the official church press and the press of secular Catholic organizations--are too small. But this is not a problem of this press alone. Even the party press quickly goes out of print, as you can see in Warsaw every day.

WELT: Of course, since the election of a Polish archbishop to be pope, the world more than ever has looked at the predominantly Catholic population. Poles have become more self-confident. Has there been a change in State-Church relations since the papal visit?

Merker: The first election of a Pole as pope was of course a big event. Doubly so: a religious event and a national event for Catholics. But also a national event for those belonging to other religions that exist in Poland, and also for atheists...

But I would like to turn the question about what has changed around. I believe that the Sacred College of Cardinals would not have elected a man to be pope who was completely at odds with his own government. Precisely because there was a significant improvement of relations between state and church in Poland in the seventies was it possible for a Polish cardinal to be elected pope.

WELT: A Pole normally identifies with two things--family and nation. Party and administration rather fall into the category of "oni" ("they"). Would there not be precisely here a chance for the church with the help of the media to reduce attitudes of indifference and to direct the interest of the public toward more responsibility--for instance, in the questions of alcoholism and the lessening work morale?

Merker: Well, the division between "we" and "they" applies to the whole world. In Western Europe too the people say: Let them do the governing, but please leave me in peace. But precisely on this question, I would like to cite Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski as a star witness. On 2 April of this year, he said at the Warsaw Academy of Catholic Theology: "In the behavior of people today, particularly as regards national and public life, we often encounter such attitudes as this: Let "them" worry about it; it is none of my business. Man himself frees himself of responsibility. That is not a proper attitude, for it causes people to be alienated from their public duties. It is a failing in the moral and national sense." The cardinal also perceives the possibility that the people in our social order are to become more active.

WELT: You mean the pulpit.

Merker: The pulpit, confession and the visits that clerics make to private homes at the beginning of the year--traditional in Poland--and the like. In other words, this need not automatically be linked with access to the mass media.

WELT: In his audience with Pope Paul VI in the Vatican in December 1977, party chief Gierak said: "In the work for Poland, for its development and prospering, our entire nation constitutes a whole. This patriotic whole, standing above ideological differences, is a historical imperative and the highest good for the nation and the political forces in charge of the state." Why is it that nevertheless Polish Catholics--such as the writer Micewski--are not permitted to go abroad?

Merker: Thousands of clerics and many bishops go abroad... But of course, like any other country, we also reserve the right to refuse permission to go abroad in individual cases.

8790

CSO: 3103

'LE FIGARO'S' MARGUERITTE ON CHURCH RIPOSTE TO REGIME CRITICISM

Paris LE FIGARO in French 2 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte]

[Text] Following the publication by DIE WELT, our West German colleague, of an interview with the deputy director in the Polish Office of Religious Affairs on relations between Church and State, the Polish Episcopate decided to reply to DIE WELT and grant FIGARO an exclusive statement. This statement, which Reverend Franciszek Goscinski, director of the Secretariat of the Episcopate, granted me, more especially constitutes a political event capable of having serious consequences in Poland than it signifies a breach in the attitude which ecclesiastical authorities have assumed until now.

In fact, just as Director Goscinski points out, "representatives of the Polish Episcopate have up to now refrained in principle from granting interviews to the foreign press," as they prefer to have problems relating to Church and State discussed "at home." Unfortunately, statements made by the deputy director in the Office of Religious Affairs contain "assertions and opinion which the Polish Episcopate finds difficult to note without protesting."

The Church, moreover, declares that it is "stunned" that a "high official" should deem it proper "to make such remarks in a foreign newspaper." Since this is not the first time that this has happened, "the Episcopate will consequently be forced to modify the attitude it has had up to now" and in turn also speak to the foreign press. The statement made yesterday to FIGARO is the first in this respect.

The Polish Church, in fact, means to make its position known on the following five points:

1. It is difficult to agree with the assertion (official) that in Poland the radio and television "are neither antireligious nor religious and do not broadcast any atheistic programs." In fact, the Episcopate declares, "the prevailing policy of all programs is to change consciences and to educate the masses in the spirit of an atheistic view of the world."

This is also why the work of the Church and the Holy See "is passed over in silence, when, as in most instances, it is not negatively presented." Moreover, the programs are frequently "opposed to Christian moral values."

2. "The assertion (by the deputy director in the Office of Religious Affairs) that the Episcopal Conference has not to date made any written request to the government concerning the Church's admittance to radio and television is absurd." As a matter of fact, this question was raised in writing "in the name of the Episcopal Conference at its highest level." It has frequently been discussed between Church and State and between the Polish Government and the Vatican. Moreover, letters from ecclesiastical authorities have been sent to state authorities and to the radio-television board." "It is hard to believe," the Episcopate states, "that the deputy director in the Office of Religious Affairs is totally unaware of this fact."

Informed Faithful

On the subject of the petition which more than 700,000 faithful signed asking the administration to approve the broadcasting of the Sunday Mass on radio and television, it is likewise false to assert that it was done without the Church's consent. It was not signed by political dissidents only, the Catholic hierarchy made clear, but rather by the faithful "aware of their responsibilities to the Church." The pastors collected the signatures which the bishop then forwarded to the radio-television board. "Ecclesiastical authorities," the Episcopate points out, "judge these initiatives positively and supports them, even if they are not organized at their request."

3. Regarding the limited circulation of the Catholic press and publications, when state authorities assert that these restrictions affect party newspapers and publications as well as the circulation of Catholic papers and publications, which proportionally are in no way comparable with those of the party or lay press and party publications, the fact is they represent "only a very small percentage" compared with the latter. Catholics cannot even buy any Bibles, "which," the Polish Church declares, "goes to prove the discrimination of which the faithful are victims."

The administration often claims that that is due to the lack of paper. "Unfortunately," the bishops say, "we have been hearing this excuse for more than 10 years and it is hard to believe that this is the real reason." In any case, these limited issues of the Catholic press and publications constitute "one of the main problems in the life of the Church in the country."

4. The deputy director in the Office of Religious Affairs has claimed that a Polish Pope was elected with respect to the acceptable relations existing between Church and State in Poland. The Episcopate points out that "this matter does not seem to fall within the province of the religious policies of the State." After all, "it is hard to imagine that the status of relations between Church and State could exercise any influence." In fact, the choice of a Polish Pope was "the expression of the common wish of the College of Cardinals and the importance of the Polish Church in the universal Church."

5. Representatives of the Office of Religious Affairs show a "tendency to confine the Church to the sacristy." Now, as Cardinal Wyszynski said in his speech of 6 January 1978, the Church can, certainly, strive to increase "the moral and social commitment of the masses but it must fulfill three conditions:

- a. Church access to mass-media.
- b. The establishment of Catholic organizations.
- c. The state's recognition of the full status of the Church.

These postulates of the primate are "entirely today's problems." "In fact, if we are expecting Church cooperation and an increased moral influence over the masses, the Church, in addition to its religious resources, must also have at its disposal the proper instruments which will enable it to have an impact on the masses."

Lastly, the Episcopate is protesting against the use by the deputy director in the Polish Office of Religious Affairs of quotations from Cardinal Wyszynski's statement: "To cite the primate's statements out of context is, to say the least, improper," it states.

Undoubtedly, the Polish Church has never so clearly expressed its policy respecting the state. Today, it is true, it is in a strong position in so far as the administration is relying on the Church to ensure calm in the difficult situation with which the country is confronted.

8870

CSO: 3100

FRG, FRENCH PRESS ARTICLES ON RECENT CHURCH-STATE STRUGGLE NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Jan 80 pp 1, 4

[News item: "Polish Episcopate Brands the Lies of the Regime. A Petition of 700,000 Faithful Slighted"]

[Text:] The Office for Religious Affairs, under the direction of Kazimierz Kakol, appears to be starting a fight against the [Catholic] Church in the sector of foreign propaganda. This would lead one to the conclusion that the ambitious boss wants to undermine the trust in the Episcopate among foreign Catholic circles. For the time being, Kakol has pushed his deputy, Aleksander Merker, to the front of the fight.

An interview appeared in the West German daily DIE WELT of 24 November 1970 by its woman correspondent with Merker. It was so full of false statements and accusations that, against its established practice, the Episcopate decided to inform officially the foreign public about Merker's tendentious and libelous pronouncements. In the Paris LE FIGARO of 2 January appeared a communique signed by the director of the Polish Secretariat, Rev Franciszek Goscinski.

In the introduction, the communique explains that the Episcopate generally avoids making pronouncements abroad on the subject of the Church and State relations because it believes that these matters should be dealt with in Poland. However, since a high state official considered it proper to make accusations against the Church in the foreign press, the Episcopate has been forced to present to the foreign public opinion both its position and the lack of any basis for Kakol's accusations in at least five areas of the utmost importance to the Church.

Spreading Atheism by Radio and Television

The discussion of the five points made by the Episcopate follows. 1) Merker's statement that radio and television in Poland do not conduct antireligious activities cannot be accepted. To the contrary, all their programs have an atheistic slant and are intended to educate the society in the materialistic spirit in order to mold people's minds into that attitude. The radio and television programs either totally ignore the activities of the Church in Poland and of the Holy See or attempt to depict those activities in a tendentious and false light. 2) Merker's

statement that the Eipiscopate does not try to introduce religious programs is not true. The Episcopate conferences requested many times the authorities to consider the religious needs of the society and to introduce religious progreams and broadcasts of religious services. Also, there requests were discussed by the representatives of the Church and the state authorities even at the highest level. In addition, the church authorities sent numerous letters both to the state authorities and to the management of the Radio and Television.

The statement that the Church has nothing to do with the petitions requesting religious services broadcasts and religious programs signed by 700,000 faithful is untrue. It is true that the Church did not initiate these petitions but this was so because the faithful joined that action of their own volition to satisfy their own needs. The signing took place in the churches or in front of the churches with full approval of the church authorities who fully support this action.

Why a Polish Pope?

3) Aleksander Merker is not telling the truth stating that the Catholic press in Poland is treated the same way as the rest of the press and that the circulation limitations are caused by the current difficulties related to the shortage of paper. In reality, discrimination against the Catholic press has been a fact for many years. The circulation limitations were imposed on the Catholic press even when there was no paper shortage because that has been and is the policy of state authorities. Small printings of Catholic publications are not enough to satisfy the faithfuls' simple demand for strictly religious texts.

4) Director Merker was trying to convince the foreign correspondent that election of a Pole to the office of the Pope is the result of good and harmonious relations between the state and the Church. The Episcopate's communique registers protest against such kind of commentary by a high ranking state official. It is not within that Office's jurisdiction or a task of that Office to analyze the reasons for electing a Pope. As is well known, that election expresses solely the will of the college of cardinals. Election of a Pole shows only what respect the Polish Church enjoys among the clergy of the Universal Church.

Basic Demands of the Church

5) Merker stated that the Church in Poland tend to lock itself in the ~~society~~ and to isolate itself from the public life. This cannot be called anything else but a common lie because even abroad are well known the various announcements and public actions of the Polish Church regarding matters essential and important for the whole nation. It is enough to recall the sermon by Primate Wyszynski of 6 January 1978 in which he forcefully defined and summarized the universal duties of the Church participating in the total life of the society.

It is the authorities who try to make difficult such Church activities. These authorities reject the three most important demands of the Church,

namely: its access to the mass media (radio, television, press), freedom to set up Catholic organizations and recognition of the Church as a legal entity. These three demands continue to be fully valid. In conclusion, the Episcopate protests against tendentious and offensive falsification by Merker of pieces of Primate Wyszynski's public pronouncements.

8801

CSO: 2600

AMENDMENTS TO CONSCRIPTION LEGISLATION CONSIDERED

Effects on Students, Others

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 79 p 10

[Article by Stanoje Jovanovic]

[Text] The National Defense Committee of the SFRY Assembly examined in yesterday's session the proposal for Enactment of the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Conscription. At this moment of writing we are unable to inform the reader how the debate went on this important piece of legislation, which of its features were accepted, and what "time-table" was adopted for enactment of the new law, since the paper went to press before the debate ended in the session of the committee. In speaking about the innovations we take as our point of departure those proposed solutions which were presented to the session of the committee, and in coming issues of the newspaper we will be writing about subsequent procedural steps in enactment of the law.

Past Experience as the Point of Departure

Whenever adoption of a new law is mentioned, especially when it is as important as this one, the altogether sound question that is immediately asked is this: Why a new law?

Those who are well versed in this field remember that the Law on Conscription (which is now in effect) was adopted in the last days of April 1974. It regulated in this field matters related to conscription, above all the "rights and duties of those subject to military service, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, as well as other organizations and agencies and responsible individuals within them...."

During the time the law has been in effect, something more than 5.5 years, valuable experience has been gained concerning all its good features and, why not say it, its less fortunate features, and that experience provides a suitable point of departure for conscription to be further refined and

updated so as to open up room for higher quality in manning the armed forces and contributes to a rise in their combat preparedness. New federal laws were also enacted in that period which imposed the need for partial or fairly complete amendment of certain provisions in conscription legislation. Some amendments in fact resulted from changes in our educational system, above all adoption of secondary vocational education in secondary schools.

In order to arrive at worthwhile solutions to be incorporated into the new law far-ranging debates have been conducted in all sociopolitical communities from the opstinas to the Federation and in the relevant bodies of the SFRY Assembly. An analysis of enforcement of the present law has shown the direction that should be taken to improve it and to bring it into conformity with achievements in creative application of the conception of nationwide defense and our society's level of development.

Regardless of the breadth of the new features, the future law will also be based on the same principles as the previous one, and the amendments mostly pertain to the rights and obligations of those subject to military service, and to a lesser extent they deal with the rights and obligations of other entities.

Military Service Before Postsecondary Studies

The most important innovation in the text of the future law has to do with the question: When to go into the army? This question leads immediately to another one: Under what conditions can military service be deferred?

The experience gained to date in deferment of military service by postsecondary students (up to age 27) has persuaded the sponsors of the legislation to adopt an altogether new and we might even say radical solution. Put simply, the response in the text of the new law would run: into the army after secondary school!

Deferment of military service for students has had an adverse effect on wartime and peacetime manning of the armed forces. It also involved a great deal of administrative work, and on top of everything else the students were sent off to do their military service just before age 27, when objectively they are burdened by their family situation and in general find it more difficult to fit into the soldier's world, which is made up almost entirely of young men who have just reached majority. Which is not to mention something much more important, which is the requirement that every able-bodied citizen be trained for tasks in defense.

Should the solution which has been proposed be adopted, in future, as we have said, young men will go to do their military service after they have completed secondary vocational education, specifically at the beginning of each October. As a practical matter this would defer their postsecondary studies only one academic year, and it would also eliminate the need for

the "training" of university students to give them military knowledge and skills.

An exception to the rule has been made only for students of medicine, pharmacy and dentistry attending school in Yugoslavia. In future their military service would still be deferred until they complete their studies, but no later than age 25, an arrangement based on the needs of the YPA.

But students already attending the university at the time when the law is adopted would be able to defer their military service in the manner prescribed by current legislation.

Fifteen Months--Even in the Navy

The delegates who are members of the National Defense Committee were presented a proposal supported by arguments concerning the real feasibility of reducing military service in the navy from 18 to 15 months. This would make the length of required service uniform in all the arms, branches and services in the YPA (15 months). This step has been made possible by the overall rise in the level of education of recruits. According to statistics, about 74 percent of conscripts enter the military with a diploma following specialized secondary schooling, which objectively makes it possible for them to master in a relatively short time the complicated program of military training even in the navy.

Incidentally, fulltime students would in future serve a 12-month period of required military service, but would be sent to complete their period of service if they do not complete their studies on time, while students who obtain their degree abroad would serve the full 15 months of military service. The possibility of spending 12 months in the YPA is also offered to young people who have graduated from junior and senior postsecondary school in Yugoslavia.

There are also innovations concerning young men who have trained to be officers in military academies. Before they begin postsecondary study they will serve a somewhat shorter period of military service (this practice in fact began this fall) to equip them for what are called fighting men's duties in the armed forces. This would also have importance to their subsequent studies, since from the outset, as soldiers, they would feel the pulse of the soldier's life, which would help them to gain a still fuller understanding of all the complexity and beauty of the calling they have chosen.

Training of Women in the YPA

Under the present Law on Conscription women serve in the YPA only in the reserves, and then only if they have the appropriate specialized education, and for that reason they can be called up for exercises in the YPA

only exceptionally (in peacetime). Women thereby have limited opportunities to serve in the YPA on the basis of conscription, and their opportunity for military training and assignment to wartime duties in the armed forces is also limited.

The solution that has been proposed would endeavor to broaden those rights, and it provides that women would be called up even in peacetime for military training in the YPA (up to 6 months) to be trained for specific wartime duties in the armed forces. Of course, if this solution is adopted, the federal secretary for national defense is authorized to prescribe how long that training will last and how it is to take place.

It is worth saying that these would be the first steps toward peacetime training of women in the YPA. Thus in conformity with the needs of the armed forces and the conditions which have been created (material, organizational, and so on) experience would be gained which would be valuable in any future examination of the possibility of drafting women into military service in the future. In all of this, of course, one must start with the specific features that cannot be ignored, such as motherhood, pregnancy, etc.

These are only some of the solutions that have been proposed in the text of the future Law on Conscription. Whether they shall be adopted is the decision of the delegates in the customary procedure of adopting a law, on which, according to established parliamentary procedure following debate in the committee, delegates of the Federal Chamber will have their opportunity to speak. According to unofficial information, this job should be completed in the next 2 months, so that the new Law on Conscription could go into effect at the beginning of next year.

Reactions From Zagreb Youth

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 79 p 7

[Article by Bojan Klima and Sasa Drach: "First the Army, Then the University"]

[Text] When an article entitled "In the Army at 18?" appeared last April in POLET, I doubt that anyone paid it much attention. Perhaps you did not even notice it.... Today, in December 1979, we can confidently cross out the question mark--for we already know for sure that this year's graduates from secondary school will put on uniforms next year!

Young people have talked about this quite a bit. A lot of guessing was done in disbelief, until the daily press announced public debate of the law which is to be passed in the spring. That is when the squirming began. After all, "no one felt himself mentally prepared," there was talk about losing one's best years, about studies being interrupted. The girls were amazed to see that now they are being seriously counted on for the first

time. We went to the School of Applied Arts in Zagreb. Here are some thoughts of the pupils there.

Zeljko: "This has been talked about a long time, but I thought those were only rumors, you know how it is. But now that the articles have begun to appear in the newspapers ... it seems that it is true. The newspapers are after all a reliable source of information. I have talked it all over with my buddies. You lose a year, you lose continuity in your studies, in things like this woodcarving we are doing here!!!

"I think it is really bad for those who want to eventually become artists. What sort of conditions could painters, sculptors and musicians have for their work in the armed forces?"

Boris: "The army also has its advantages. We will find it easier at the age of 18. A man tolerates military discipline more easily when he is 19. In any case, since it has to be done, better get it over with. Aside from that, we will become more independent by living away from Zagreb for a year."

Goran: "What I don't like is that very little was written about that. After all, the question of going into the army at 18 or later has to do with me above all, and someone might have asked me my opinion. I want to know what is happening and not just guess. If the reasons were presented, then one could talk about this in a different way. It appears to be altogether secondary whether we agree or not."

Pero: "It will suit me to go into the army at 18. Although I am enrolled for painting, I have no idea what I will study. This way I will try to enroll at two schools, and while I am in the army I will think about what I will do later."

Slavko: "There is quite a bit of free time in the army, but where will you go to read any serious book without having a dozen people gathered around you?"

Karmen: "We're one thing, and the boy is something else. But every boy knows that sometime he has to go into the army. He can easily reconcile himself to getting it over with. After all they have been prepared for that for a long time. But when I read in the newspaper that probably I will go into the army in the fall, that's the first I've heard of it!"

Gordana: "Perhaps it would be better to go to courses of some kind here in Zagreb which would give us the basics instead of serving in the military."

Lidija: "Do you know what 6 months is? I know that if war comes I will not sit at home and make lunch. I would be prepared to go for training, just so it doesn't last too long. Probably there are also some technical

problems here. Where will they put us? If you suppose that women are going to go into the army, then the officers will have to be women. But we don't have that."

What should one say after these responses? Their attitude is most frequently reflected in questions like this: "Will we all be together or separate in the barracks"? And today's high school girl does not see her role in all this very clearly as yet. The Republic Secretariat for Nationwide Defense is located at 1 Opatija Street. We went there to try to get some answers to the questions we heard at the School of Applied Arts.

Before the conversation began, we were told that the new law on conscription still had not been passed, but had only been announced for public debate, which lasts until spring. But we can confidently say that next year all young men who graduate from secondary school will on 1 October 1980 go off to do their military service.

Entrance examinations for the university will be held earlier. Those who are accepted will serve 12 months. His place at the university will be waiting for him at the end of that time. If he does not graduate on schedule, he must serve another 3 months. While attending the university students will have regular instruction in nationwide defense and social self-protection regardless of having done their military service. As in the past, freshmen will also go to camp in the summer.

Those who do not wish to go to the university or who are not accepted, will spend 15 months in the army. Unless they are able to enroll in the summer semester, they will lose 2 years.

The reason for amending the law is not because the universities are overloaded, as is often thought. The main reason has to do with the needs of the armed forces. The army would get younger people, and the number of those capable of defending the country would increase. We were told that women would not go off to do military service like the men. When they are spoken of as conscripts, it is mainly their role in civil defense which is referred to. They will be called up for military training and exercises for a period of time not to exceed 6 months. The law says nothing about how or when this idea will be carried out. This part of the proposal has not been worked out like the one that concerns the men.

Students of medicine, dentistry and pharmacy will not go into the army after secondary school so that they can get their practical training in the armed forces following their graduation. Students who study defense and protection at the School of Political Science will go for 5 months of training during their studies, for which they will be given credit as regular military service. If they do not complete their studies, they will go to complete their service.

Those attending police colleges will complete their military training as part of their studies.

The debates on the draft of the law are now taking place in the Croatian Parliament, the Executive Council and the Socialist Alliance. There have, of course, been objections, but they are usually technical in nature.

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MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC STABILITY ASSESSED

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[Article by Col Mihajlo Golubovic, lawyer]

[Text] "Continuation of the present adverse tendencies in economic trends," states the Report of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, "could jeopardize the results that have been achieved and give rise to numerous difficulties related to economic and social welfare policy within associated labor."

In order to halt those tendencies and stabilize economic development on a more lasting basis, the Presidium has called upon all organizations and organs of the League of Communists to step up and expand even more the campaign to perform the current tasks of economic policy. All organizations and organs of the League of Communists are also urged to reexamine performance of the tasks and programs assigned for the purposes of stabilization and see that they are carried out as effectively as possible.

It is the judgment, then, of the highest body of the party that the battle to implement the policy of economic stabilization still has not assumed the necessary scope and intensity, that patterns of behavior are slow to change in certain quarters, especially with respect to economic relations with foreign countries, commerce, banking and noneconomic activities. There have also been vigorous demands and warnings in the Federal Assembly concerning the need for greater mobility and determination if economic stabilization is to be achieved. The delegates of that high representative body are calling for appropriate steps to be taken immediately at all levels of self-management and public decisionmaking so as to prevent the adverse tendencies of current and long-range economic policy.

In most cases subjective shortcomings and oversights are the principal causes of all these phenomena. They are manifested, first of all, in the discrepancy between the growth rates of consumption and income, the growth in the trade balance, renewed inflation, an unsatisfactory growth rate of labor productivity and business efficiency, a lag in bringing about

changes in the economic structure and substitution of domestic raw materials for imported raw materials, slowness in conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts, and failure on the part of associated labor to assume the role to which it is entitled on the basis of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. Some part has, of course, also been played by definite shortcomings in certain organizations of the League of Communists and their forums, which have not always been able to stand openly and boldly in the way of the basic and initial difficulties.

Aside from the subjective shortcomings, it is also a fact that other adverse circumstances which are objective are making the battle for stabilization more complicated and difficult at this moment. These are above all unfavorable international economic developments, especially the rising price of petroleum and petroleum derivatives, which this year will increase our country's outflow by several hundred million dollars. Then again there is the catastrophic earthquake which hit Montenegro and will burden our country with financial obligations for quite some time. On top of all that this year's drought and generally bad weather will make it necessary to import certain amounts of some grains. The unfavorable international situation also requires that we make great efforts to strengthen defense and set aside adequate funds for that purpose regardless of the present economic difficulties and the sizable rate of inflation in Yugoslavia and in the world.

The policy of economic stabilization cannot be implemented unless all entities in our society are committed to it, especially those whose share in this campaign is greatest. Above all we need considerable restraints in investments, public expenditure, community expenditure and personal expenditure. We need to prevent as quickly as possible the importation of articles which are not indispensable or which we produce ourselves in sufficient quantities, and above all we must fight for an overall rise of labor productivity and business efficiency throughout the entire society.

Party Members as Creators and Initiators of the Results Achieved

Very great importance is attributed in the military to our society's economic stabilization measures. Most recent steps of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee have helped to provide a deeper and fuller understanding of the problematical economic situation and the need for members of the military to show maximum commitment to performance of the tasks contained in stabilization policy. All organizations and forums of the LCY in the YPA are following very closely and continuously ideological questions and problems in the domain of military economics, especially those which have a bearing on economic stabilization. Party members are more and more behaving like initiators and creators of draft versions of decisions and solutions and also as fighters for implementation of the decisions after they are taken. These initiatives and actions of party members are manifested most fully in the many projects being carried out by units themselves, without employing contractors, in the conduct and

improvement of training, in the attention given to the market and to conclusion of good contracts, in the maintenance and handling of technical materiel, the saving on and preservation of equipment, the occurrence of certain integrative processes, and so on. As in the past, it has once again been shown that party members are highly interested in the entire set of economic problems in the YPA, often far beyond the scope of their functional duty.

Significant results have been achieved in modernization of the armed forces in the last few years thanks to this activity of party members in the military, and this applies not only to the purchase and production of new equipment, but also to achievement of superlative results in mastering and handling it.

All military units and institutions have drafted their economy programs, and all service personnel are involved in carrying them out. In addition to LCY organizations, the youth and trade union organizations have also greatly contributed. Military collectivities and individuals have become keenly aware of the need for economy. The economy campaign has truly become one of the most important elements in the life and work of YPA units and institutions. The result of all these efforts during 1978 was a saving of funds in quite respectable amounts. Most was achieved by doing ourselves what otherwise would have been let out to contractors, and this was followed by the conclusion of multiannual contracts, omission of less important tasks, revision of construction plans, etc.

Once again experience has shown that the frequent doubts about construction work done by the direct labor method are unfounded. However, the assertion that construction projects done by direct labor detract from instructions is sound only if they are carried out without appropriate technical documentation and a proper plan and when the work has not been well organized. Otherwise these efforts by units should be supported and esteemed, especially since organized work has both a character-building and an economic importance. Since the military does have a large number of young specialists in various fields--officers and enlisted men, they must be put to the best use in all army activities and that would include projects carried out by direct labor. Aside from human potential, we also have a sizable number of up-to-date earthmoving machines and other equipment which can be put to worthwhile use. It is a large contribution to society when the military builds a project which has broader importance, and especially when it uses this project to train and improve the qualifications of enlisted men and officers. When payment for the work done is used to purchase new and more up-to-date equipment, then that benefit is manifold. However, it is very erroneous to carry out projects by direct labor at all costs, without examining how this affects training and the condition of equipment.

Considerable efforts have been made to minimize the effect of price rises on military consumption. Requests for higher prices on armament and military equipment were held in 1978 to the limit necessitated by the objective

situation. In spite of the very rapid rise in food prices and the considerable improvement in the quality of the food, soldiers in the YPA are being fed at rather favorable prices. Most of the funds appropriated to feed the soldiers go through the system of centralized multiannual contracts, and lower prices are achieved in that way. Moreover, YPA units have large farms on which they cultivate about 800 hectares. Every year several thousand tons of fruit and vegetables and a few hundred tons of fresh meat are produced. This satisfies a considerable portion of needs, and the workers on those farms earn income for themselves.

People have become more sophisticated and responsible for the preservation and proper handling of technical equipment and other military equipment, there are considerably fewer cases of damage to technical materiel, and the damage is being quickly detected and corrected. The proper condition of technical equipment has become an ever greater indicator of the overall condition and of relations in the unit.

More and more scientific methods are being used in approaches to solving various problems in the YPA, and this is a contribution in its own right to greater efficiency and better organization of work--which ultimately yields higher economic results.

Better Results Can Be Achieved Through Fuller Commitment

In spite of the important results unquestionably achieved and the contributions to the community's efforts toward economic stabilization, we now need to speak more about what should be done in order to make a greater contribution to economic stabilization and at the same time to overcome more effectively the shortcomings that exist in the economic operation of the military, of which there are still quite a number.

Sometimes investment projects in the military have quite a few characteristics similar to civilian investment projects. Often desires are greater than actual capabilities in our case, too. There is fairly widespread confidence that there is always money to build all sorts of projects and that it is more advantageous to build something new than to do over the old. When approval is sought and when some construction projects are being planned, consideration is not always given to all the significant factors affecting the price of that construction project, or cost estimates are shown on the low side so that approval for such a project will be granted more easily. That is why over the past 3 years of carrying out the medium-term plan we have had frequent departures--large in value terms--from the planned limits on construction activity. Whereas 14 percent of the funds in the YPA financial plan was assigned to construction, the actual figure has been 22 percent, which has upset proportions concerning the other tasks, especially supplying armament and military equipment to the YPA. The number of construction projects under way is steadily increasing. Housing construction is also burdened with numerous shortcomings, which often are subjective in nature. First of all, housing construction lasts intolerably long. Over the past 3 years of the medium-term

plan, for example, actual housing construction is 4,500 units below what was planned. If we add to this that a considerable number of units are being accepted with defects and that their correction takes a long time, it is natural that this should also have its consequences.

There are also problems in the preservation, distribution and maintenance of the military housing stock. Here a great number of shortcomings have cropped up, such as the negligent attitude of tenants, who sometimes cause serious damage to housing facilities and necessitate large investments to correct it; immodest demands on the part of individuals as to the size, location and floor of the unit they request; ability to make repairs, etc. Up to now LCY organizations and forums have not devoted the attention they should to all these problems.

Adequate money has not been allocated in recent years to overhauling and modifying technical materiel. That is why units do not send for repair all those pieces of equipment in the intervals when they should be sent, so that the number of pieces of technical equipment which have not been overhauled is increasing steadily year after year, thereby increasing the coefficient of their unreliability, which in turn has consequences from the standpoint of combat readiness.

There are shortcomings in the supply and consumption of fuel, electric power and water. In spite of the ban, large amounts of electric power are being used for heating. In a large number of cases electric power is being consumed at a more expensive rate because meters have not been installed everywhere to take advantage of the cheaper power. Analyses show that consumption of water, fuel and electric power is rising steadily. The reasons are usually uneconomical behavior and inappropriate choice of the method of heating facilities, poor maintenance of installations, failure to utilize local sources of processing water, etc.

There are cases when priority tasks are not covered by the funds allocated. There are also cases when planning discipline is not maintained, when in the course of the year funds are taken from priority tasks and assigned to other tasks. Note has been taken of the problem of the premature scrapping of equipment that is still not worn out so as to obtain new equipment as soon as possible. One result of this is an accumulation of second-category clothing because in units there are now on the average 3.5 sets of that clothing per soldier, and the trend is for these surpluses to increase steadily. There are tendencies to purchase new furniture, rugs, draperies, and other furnishings, though present ones have not worn out. YPA organizations and military collectives have not concerned themselves openly and responsibly enough with this problem, if they have done so at all. There are also large stores of food which cannot be consumed on time, and this also results in large losses.

The success in training is not always in proportion to the funds which have been spent. It is thought by some that one should not economize in

training and that no savings are possible here at all, the fear being that this might be detrimental to combat readiness. However, the experience of those who conduct training indicates that it is possible to economize even in the sphere of training. Success in training can be achieved with smaller resources, better selection of teaching aids, terrain, time, and better preparation of those carrying out the training. Thus one should not strive toward a steady increase of funds for training, but for more up-to-date planning, organization and conduct of training, for new methods and standards, for more efficient use of the existing physical training facilities and a number of other efficient solutions which can never be entirely exhausted. There is no question here of economy which would be detrimental to combat readiness by the very fact that the principal criterion of the economy regime in the YPA is precisely the contribution which the various activities and expenditures make to increasing the combat readiness of the YPA and the armed forces as a whole.

Similar opinions are held by a certain number of party members, to the effect that a small military unit like the platoon, company or equivalent units cannot achieve any sizable savings, supposedly because these units receive only as much as they need for everyday life and work. However, the savings achieved in those units, because they are so numerous, are very significant and represent a large item on the final balance sheet of savings. The enlisted man, for example, though he does not decide on the use of funds, figures in the role of the actual consumer of those funds, and he is a very significant factor when it comes to economizing and saving in the military. The officer on the other hand will contribute to economy insofar as he constantly analyzes his actions, reflects, and manages to devise several different versions of task performance, always bearing in mind that his solutions be economical.

The job of performing the tasks of stabilization can never be completed, nor should it be reduced to the narrow framework of a task which is the concern and commitment of only certain strictly military structures. This is an ongoing process, these are tasks which are the concern of all members of the YPA to the extent and in the manner that they can make the greatest contribution to the efforts of economic stabilization. Everyone's role is not, of course, the same, since those who make major decisions and adopt major proposals are the most significant factor to economizing, but this by no means diminishes the role of other factors in doing their share to implement the policy of economic stabilization.

There are still shortcomings as to the legality with which business is conducted. Experience has shown that if several opinions and proposals are heard before funds are used and decisions made, not only are economic benefits achieved, but complete legality is also ensured in the handling and disposition of public funds. There have been cases of unlawful acts arising out of ignorance of regulations and the rights of individual officers. Nevertheless, those cases of illegality are much more serious when there was a lack of responsibility on the part of individual officers and

party members in performance of their functional duties. It is therefore indispensable that responsibility be enhanced still more in certain areas of business and that regulations and agreed principles be consistently enforced. We must go to the end in our fight to see that regulations on the disposition of funds are strictly enforced as long as they are in effect. This does not mean that regulations should not be amended, improved, updated and brought into conformity with the needs of field units and the requirement that still greater rights be granted in the distribution of funds, assuming a simultaneous growth of responsibility on the part of those making decisions.

There are still cases of a failure to understand the true role of the plan and of planned performance of tasks. Sometimes people still take a rather narrow and sectoral approach to planning, and they do not fully examine the broader needs and tasks of the YPA as a whole.

As a result funds go unspent for certain tasks, while on the other hand certain tasks remain unperformed because of a lack of funds. To be sure, there are cases when exceptional tasks are assigned without the corresponding funds being duly approved, which upsets and jeopardizes performance of planned tasks. It frequently is the case that the entire business of planning is left to specialized organs--planning experts, and sometimes planning is viewed as a finished job because the plan has been drafted and approved.

Responsibility Toward Tasks in the Coming Period

In the coming period we need still greater, more intensive, better organized and more concrete political-ideological and other activity on the part of all military personnel with respect to economic stabilization. That is why the Presidium and organizational committee of the LCY in the YPA recently took up these problems once again and indicated the principal lines of activity for the organization of the LCY in the YPA in the coming period.

Party members and other members of the YPA must show full responsibility in understanding that the economic situation in the country makes it incumbent upon them to step up their activity in carrying out the tasks of economic stabilization which have been assigned. This will be achieved mainly through regular and critical analysis and examination of task performance and through specific measures toward the most effective performance of the tasks which have been set.

The most important activity here is that which is aimed at a further raising of consciousness, a faster change of habits and patterns of behavior, and a strengthening of responsibility. Everyone in the YPA must always be aware of the need to modernize the YPA and the armed forces as a whole.

Every member of the YPA must also be constantly aware that any further increase in the national defense appropriation from the national income would diminish opportunities for economic development, which is a condition for creating a strong society as a whole. The question of optimality and economic efficiency in using the funds which we possess must therefore be put in its strictest formulation. The combat readiness of units and the possibility of effective and timely performance of numerous tasks affecting that readiness depends on how optimally we use funds and commit them to those tasks and needs which have the greatest priority. This is the reason why the principles of economic efficiency and optimality must be constantly and carefully built into the entire system and method of operation, direction and decisionmaking of every command and every YPA officer. They must feel themselves responsible not only for carrying out the tasks which have been set, but also for the economic aspect of every task. Every officer must put a high value on time and on human labor as a whole. In some places work has still not been organized rationally, and this hampers initiative and takes from many individuals the time they need to plan their own work as best they can and find better and more economical solutions. This makes it necessary to analyze and reassess the system of command and direction on an ongoing basis, striving to improve procedures and give the economic criterion its necessary affirmation in the improved procedure.

Whenever a decision or solution is prepared, economic analyses must also be prepared, several possible solutions must be proposed, so that on the basis of a comparative analysis the one which affords the greatest overall benefits in terms of combat readiness will be adopted. There must be ongoing analysis of all investments and all costs, since only in that way is it possible to discover whether the funds have been put to optimum use. This is especially important in evaluating and analyzing major areas of consumption in which the greatest savings and the largest economic and combat-technical results can be achieved through knowledgeable and competent economic assessment.

The position taken by the Presidium and the Committee of the Organization of the LCY and the YPA is that all LCY organizations should in future make a critical analysis of their own local situation so as to avert adverse phenomena, especially those which are subjective, in good time. This obligation is all the greater because there are greater opportunities and broader rights in disposition of funds and in making decisions on their use. Party members must be the bearers of an awareness that the fight for stabilization under present conditions is one of the largest tasks of every member of the military, the standard of his consciousness and patriotism, the measure of his image as a communist.

For the sake of an overall strengthening of the material foundation of society and for the sake of unity and defense of our society, all forms of consumption in the YPA, as in the society at large, must be brought as completely and quickly as possible within the limits of the funds available. This especially applies to capital investment activity. In all YPA

structures priority must be given to the performance of those tasks which have the largest impact in strengthening combat readiness. The aim must be to channel a maximum of funds for regular activity into covering the steadily growing needs for war equipment and armament and also for performance of other tasks which have direct significance to the combat readiness of units. There must be organized and vigorous opposition to all spending and purchases which are not directly beneficial to that readiness of units.

The discipline and responsibility of party members in performance of planned tasks must be constantly strengthened. Party members must be consistent in the last degree in the effort to perform tasks as planned, must resolutely resist pressures for additional funds to be assigned to less important tasks, lackadaisical assignment of extra tasks, subsequent approval of funds, and the execution of construction projects by direct labor without the necessary construction documents and preparation. Along with efforts to draft realistic plans, there is also a greater need than heretofore for work to find new standards and criteria and to perfect existing ones. Comprehensive planning necessitates greater cooperation among the tactical units, technical units and supply units involved. This means that organizations of the LCY in the YPA must have a greater influence than heretofore on the improvement, organization and methodology of planning. Efforts should also be directed toward devising new features of the system and improvement of existing ones; this is a special obligation of those communists concerned with these matters because of their official function.

The processes of integration in the YPA, especially in service activities, should be further encouraged and supported. Decisions on every new integration and formation should be made to a greater degree on the basis of economic criteria and scientific analyses.

There should be maximum commitment in drafting the medium-term and annual plan for development of the armed forces. An effort should be made to achieve fuller harmony in examining the development needs of the arms and services, and those who do the planning should always have in view the interests of the YPA as a whole. Support must be given to those solutions which contribute to economic stabilization and at the same time to performance of those tasks which contribute most to the combat readiness of the YPA and the armed forces as a whole.

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